1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

THE HERUCKA DANCE

535 574 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone.

[525] Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

[533] The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance.

[534] A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather

[531] narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained.

WATCONAKE'ŁWE FEAST
(AFRAID-TO-EAT-GREENS FEAST)

241 785 262 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

THE CAPTIVE'S DEATH DANCE

737 535 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

11Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

and permit him to dance and sing. This is called the *wagyniṗke-i*[a] dance."[a] 727 535

"So then the turtle was told to dance his death dance—i. e., *wagyniṗke-i*[a] dance. Both of his arms were tied behind above the elbows. Only thus was he permitted to walk. His wrists were tied in front, so that he could not stretch out his arms. His ankles were tied in such a way that he could not take any long steps. He carried a gourd in one hand and a sacred object in the other, and with these he danced up and down the village, performing his death dance and singing and shaking his gourd. Many people came to see him. He stopped and changed his song, singing, "O death, O death! You young women come here to see me. I am anxious for death."

. . .

(It seems that it is customary to grant any wish the captive makes while dancing this dance.)

The Farewell Dance

When a person is about to go on the warpath he goes around the village dancing and asking for volunteers to accompany him. New volunteers join him as he dances and sings. When the dancing is over these volunteers tell the people how their forefathers encouraged them to go on the warpath, *etc.* 535 721

At the beginning and end of each song they strike their mouths with their hands and give a whoop.

FAREWELL SONGS 533

I 539

Hi'shą wojo'jį yare'na[a] da'ru[a] wa'gheṅgre waja[a] ana'garo; hi'she 535
Truth he speaks I hope, war leaders, what he says, truth 721
wojo'jį yare'na[a].
he tells I hope.

II

Cuṅkana'garo je'she hidanaṅkhi'ena dorą'ṅkera wagaa'singe: je'she
These dogs like I think of myself war leader a man I am: Thus
hidanaṅkhi'ena.
I think of myself.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than that of a dog.)

III

Jige' ya'ragmi'na[a] waja[a] si'p'anai'na dotru'ṅkera; jige' yare'na[a].
Again I desire it something a long time war leader; again I desire
(I. e., it is a long time since I have been on the warpath.)

IV

Ga ai'ruka zawa'niṅkrane'na[a] dotru[a] wuṅkeraṅka zawa'niṅkranena[a]
Even that they my will disappear war leader even he will disappear.
(I. e., I don't value my life any more than the war-leader does.)

[a] The following description of this dance, contained in one of the versions of the myth, "Turtle on the warpath," is no doubt fairly accurate.

lt Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air. 796 614 [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I 796

Manaap'e'ra na'jī'winā. 614
Soldiers get up.

II 533

Wąą'nija' teraigi'jī na'jī'a'ąjā. 539
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaap'e'ra newine'na' hu'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaap'e'ra hi'ja' wine'na'.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

CEREMONY OF UANGERU

(BEGGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him. 735 [532]

FEAST TO BUFFALO TAIL

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious. 787

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast. [782 778] 527

KIKRE WACI AND TCEBOKONA'K DANCES

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called tcebokona'k (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin. 535 177

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present.

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle.

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry.

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!".

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

574
I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in 114
the day.

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke cere- 796
moniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast 574
he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could [742] molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced 796
that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of [574] tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded [201] with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by [261] the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed [825] in running, and could infuse his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as [726] speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where [535] the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

796 778 535 The shrine about which this ceremony centers is also a bundle, in this instance owned by one of the waiters, but not necessarily so. Its setting up followed a definite procedure. A small mound of sand was first heaped up on the grassy floor of the lodge. A wooden bowl was placed on the top center of the mound, and a tin bowl directly west of the mound. These were both filled with maple syrup. Four men placed handsful of tobacco at the base of each of the syrup containers. Then the bowl of syrup was removed from the mound, to be placed adjacent to the tin vessel, and from the open buffalo bundle a number of buffalo tail's were taken and placed upon the mound. Four small [823] eagle feathers, dyed red, were inserted in the margins of the mound to point in the four cardinal directions.

123 535 796 The leader, accompanied by musicians with rattles and one drummer, then sang one set of four songs. A dance song followed, practically everyone present joining in the dance, forming in line behind the leader and circling the lodge in a counter-clockwise direction. All the men were in the forepart of the line; the women followed the men. As the line was forming, several of the men urged the humble subscriber to this account to join the dance. Never before having witnessed the particular performance, I was entirely ignorant of the correct procedure, but realizing that this was a common dance in which anyone could participate without special preparation or careful observance of conduct, I, to my downfall, consented. I joined the line where it was forming immediately in front of me. The dance started before I became aware of my embarassing position; for whereas all the other men were grouped to comprise the leading half of the line, I was far back in the formation, distantly removed from the other representatives of my sex —dancing with the squaws. The shouts of merriment arising from both the men and women satisfied me, however, that I had not committed the unpardonable sin. Nevertheless, as soon as it was convenient, I corrected the *error* of my position.

796 535 As the line passed the bowls of syrup, the dancers each drank of the contents; the men from one bowl, the women from the other. The singing and dancing was continued until all the syrup was gone. Finally, the wooden bowl having been replaced on the sand altar, the leader approached it on hands and knees, mimicking the grunts and actions of a buffalo. He then proceeded to butt the bowl with his head, turning it over.

796 152 781 Speeches by the leader and by other prominent men brought the ceremony to a close.

My general reactions to the performance were two-fold. In the first place, I could not but be impressed by the exalted fervor of the other participants; at times tears coursed down the cheeks of Big Wave as he sang the spirit songs of his ancestors, and other participants 600 showed the effect of strong emotion. Secondly, I beheld the ancient

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

178 191 171 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to assume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cultural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their language. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 535 In considering our four types of social change, we might almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 182 Although we are considering cultural change among the Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group.**

182 551 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winnebago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

I Take a Trip to Nebraska

to see her when I was drinking heavily. I therefore had to go on alone. I had my gun with me. I arrived at Nebraska in midsummer. I arrived there very early in the morning, and there I met a man whom I had once known, a person who used to go around a good deal. There were many people present. We sat somewhat on one side, and he and his wife drank with me. I told him what I had done, how I had counted coup on a Pottawattomie, and he shook hands and said that he too had counted coup and that he was going to wear a head ornament. Then they took me to the place where they lived, carrying all my things for me. 159* [555]

The next day the Nebraska Winnebago were going to celebrate. There was to be a general gathering for a week. The people with whom I was staying joined the others at the gathering. At the gathering itself I met two men whom I knew and who recognized me. They shook hands with me. They were riding in a buggy, and when they left, they took me along. On the road they stopped, and we got out of the buggy and began drinking out of a jug containing four quarts of whisky which we had along with us. I joined them in the drinks. We then went back to the gathering, where I met an uncle of mine. To him I presented my gun, and he was delighted. [529] [293] [431]

The gathering itself was a very large one, and we danced every day. I also prepared myself and took part in the dance and gave away many things. I received in return two ponies, a harness, and a top-buggy. I remained there for some time after the celebration [529] [535] [431]